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E.O. 11652:GDS TAGS PFOR, IT, YO SUBJECT: ITALO-YUGOSLAV FLARE-UP OVER TRIESTE

- 1. THERE FOLLOWS INR ASSESSMENT OF ITALO-YUGOSLAV DISPUTE OVER TRIESTE:
- (A) BACKGROUND. THE 1954 LONDON MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING INITIALED BY ITALY, YUGOSLAVIA, UK AND US AND ACCEPTED BY THE USSR, ASSIGNED THE ADMINISTRATION OF ZONE A OF THE UNREALIZED FREE TERRITORY OF TRIESTE TO ITALY WHILE ENTRUSTING ADMINISTRATION OF ZONE B TO YUGOSLAVIA. WHILE YUGOSLAVIA RATIFIED THE MEMORANDUM, ITALY NEVER DID. NEVERTHELESS, BOTH PRINCIPALS HAVE SINCE BEEN CONSISTENT IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS IN DECLARING THEMSELVES SATISFIED WITH THE ARRANGEMENT, EXCEPT FOR MINOR TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS IN THE DEMARCATION LINE. IN OCTOBER 1957 A JOINT ITALO-YUGOSLAV COMMISSION SIGNED DOCUMENTS ON THE FINAL DELIMITATION OF THE LINE OF DEMARCATION BETWEEN THE TWO FORMER ZONES.
- (B) IN RECENT YEARS THERE HAVE BEEN INCREASING CONFIDENTIAL

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YUGOSLAV EFFORTS TO CONFIRM AND MAKE PERMANENT THE

TERRITORIAL STATUS QUO, FOR INSTANCE, IN A BILATERAL TREATY WITH ITALY. WHILE SEVERAL DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN HELD -- THE LAST BETWEEN FOREIGN SECRETARY MINIC AND FOREIGN MINISTER MEDICI IN DUBROVNIK IN MARCH 1973 --

THE ITALIAN SIDE CONTINUED TO CLAIM THE TIME INOPPORTUNE FOR INTERNAL POLITICAL REASONS. DESPITE GOOD ITALO-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS, TEMPERS FLARED ON OCCASION, E.G., IN 1964 WHEN YUGOSLAVIA POSTED BORDER SIGNS IN ZONE B, ONLY TO REMOVE THEM FOLLOWING ITALIAL PROTEST, OR WHEN TITO CANCELED HIS TRIP TO ITALY IN 1970 FOLLOWING A PARLIAMENTARY INTERPELLATION WHICH ELICITED FOREIGN MINISTER MORO'S STATEMENT THAT ITALY DID NOT RENOUNCE ITS LEGITIMATE NATIONAL INTERESTS IN ZONE B.

- 2. PRESENT IMBROGLIO EXCEEDS MOST PRECEDING ONES IN SEVERITY OF YUGOSLAV REACTION. WHILE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS IS NOT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR, THE DISPUTE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN TRIGGERED BY THE ERECTION BY YUGOSLAVS OF SIGNS ON THEIR SIDE OF DEMARCATION LINE IN LATE JANUARY OR EARLY FEBRUARY. THERE FOLLOWED A REPORT FROM ITALIAN CONSULATE GENERAL IN KOPER (CAPODISTRIA). IN FORMER ZONE B, TO THE FARNESINA ON THIS EVENT AND ARTICLES IN TRIESTE NEWSPAPERS. SUBSEQUENTLY, FARNESINA ON FEBRUARY 16 DELIVERED NOTE OF PROTEST TO BELGRADE WHICH CLAIMED ZONE B WAS ITALIAN TERRITORY. THIS NOTE WITH WITHDRAWN TWO DAYS LATER ONLY AS A RESULT OF YUGOSLAV OBJECTIONS TO THE ITALIAN FORMULATION WITH RESPECT TO THE ITALIAN FORMULATION WITH RESPECT TO RESIDUAL ITALIAN SOVEREIGNTY IN ZONE B. IT WAS, HOWEVER, RESUBMITTED IN PRACTICALLY UNCHANGED FORM ON MARCH 11. THE ESCALATION OF YUGOSLAV OFFICIAL, MEDIA, AND PUBLIC REACTION ENSURED.
- 3. WHAT IS IMPLIED BY THESE DEVELOPMENTS AS WELL AS COROLLARY INFORMATION ON SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA SUGGESTS THAT: (A) YUGOSLAVIA TECHNICALLY TRIGGERED THE DISPUTE BY PUTTING UP ITS BORDER SIGNS KNOWING FULL WELL THAT ITALY WOULD REACT; (B) TITO, WELL AWARE THAT HIS LIFE-SPAN IS SHORT AND WISHING TO LEAVE A CLEAN SLATE FOR HIS SUCCESSORS, DECIDED TO TEST ITALY'S CONFIDENTIAL

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REACTION IN THIS FASHION, HAVING BEEN FRUSTRAED IN EARLIER EFFORTS TO SETTLE THE ISSUE IN BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS; (C) THE DOMESTIC SITUATION APPEARS ALSO TO PLAY A ROLE IN THE YUGOSLAV REACTION. THE SPECTRE OF A FOREIGN THREAT TO YUGOSLAV SOVEREIGNTY SERVES, AS IN NUMEROUS PREVIOUS INSTANCES, TO UNIFY THE YUGOSLAV POPULACE AND ESPECIALLY THE PARTY WITH A PARTICULAR VIEW TO THE FORTHCOMING TENTH PARTY CONGRESS AT THE END

OF MAY; (D) BY MARCH, THE SIGNS WERE STILL THERE AND PRESSURE WAS APPARENTLY INCREASING IN TRIESTE (WITH THE LARGEST PERCENTAGE OF RIGHT-WINGERS OF ANY AREA IN THE COUNTRY). THE TENSE ITALIAN DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION

INVOLVING NOT ONLY ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES BUT ALSO THE PREOCCUPATIONS OF A GOVERNMENT CRISIS WHICH BROKE OUT MARCH 2, POSSIBLY INDUCED THE CARETAKER GOVERNMENT TO ACT HASTILY TO DISARM RIGHT WING PRESSURE BY MEANS OF A NOTE TO THE YUGOSLAVS. THIS HAD BEEN DONE IN THE PAST AND THE SIGNS HAD COME DOWN. THIS TIME, THE ITALIANS USED LANGUAGE IMPLYING A CONTINUED CLAIM TO ZONE B AND ALSO APPARENTLY MISJUDGED THE YUGOSLAV POLITICAL SITUATION. NOW THAT THE DIE IS CAST, IT WILL BE HARD FOR THE ITALIANS TO BACK DOWN; (E) NEITHER IS YUGOSLAVIA LIKELY TO BACK OFF WITHOUT A FACE-SAVING FORMULA, FEARING THAT IT MIGHT GIVE ENCOURAGEMENT TO OTHERS WITH POTENTIAL TERRITORIAL CLAIMS (E.G., BULGARIA, ALBANIA).

4.DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE COMMENTS OF ADDRESSES ON ANY ASPECT OF THIS ASSESSMENT. EMBASSY BELGRADE SHOULD FOCUS ESPECIALLY ON INTERACTION OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN FACTORS. RUSH

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